AGENDA

MONDAY 25, JUNE

10.00am	Opening Ceremony: WCIP President, Mr Jose Carlos Morales, NAC/WCIP Sub-Committee Chairman, Mr Ossie Cruse, Secretary, DAA. Mr Charles Perkins, Guests.
11.00am	Morning Tea.
11.30am	Delegates' addresses to the conference: 'The Situation of Indigenous Struggle in Member Countries' – East Timor and West Papua.
1.00pm	Lunch.
2.30pm	Delegates' addresses – New Caledonia, French occupied Polynesia.
4.00pm	Afternoon Tea.
4.30pm	Delegates' addresses – Hawaii, Micronesia.

TUESDAY 26, JUNE

9.00am	Information about the WCIP: Mr Ossie Cruse, Mr Jose Carlos Morales. Addresses by Australia and New Zealand. Establishment of South Pacific Secretariat. Budget submissions. WCIP Fourth General Assembly.
10.30am	Morning Tea.
11.00am	Discussion of Policies and Strategies. Plan of Operation for the South Pacific Region. Regional strategy through the WCIP.
12.30pm	Lunch.
2.00pm	Policies and Strategies.
3.30pm	Afternoon Tea.
4.00pm	Policies and Strategies.

WEDNESDAY 27, JUNE

9.00am	Plan of Operation.
10.30am	Morning Tea.
11.00am	Plan of Operation.
12.30pm	Lunch.
2.00pm	Formulation of Resolutions.
3.30pm	Press Conference.

INTRODUCTION

W.D. Ashcroft

In 1977 the World Council of Indigenous Peoples instructed the National Aboriginal Conference, as its South Pacific representative, to begin co-ordinating the region for membership in the world body. For various reasons the NAC was unable to fulfil this objective until 1984, but a series of trips this year to potential member countries by members of the NAC paved the way for an Aboriginal initiative in the region.

The Pacific region, contrary to the popular myth of idyllic coral islands populated by carefree villagers, suffers the full range of colonial oppression, (this myth itself is a form of oppression) and the struggles of the indigenous people are characterised to a large extent by the kind of occupation they endure. The worst cases are the victims of Indonesian expansionism. The people of East Timor and West Papua have endured a concerted campaign of genocide since the beginning of Indonesian occupation. Genocide is a much over-used word in fourth world politics, and its often glib use sometimes blunts the full meaning of the term for the original owners of occupied territories. In East Timor and West Papua the killing and terrorising of indigenous people is a part of a sustained program of control, geared to replace the existing population with the invading culture in as short a time as possible. In simple terms this is a horror of unimaginable proportions, but it is the daily experience of many East Timorese and West Papuans.

Almost every year the United Nations Security Council has formulated a resolution condemning the Indonesian invasion and continued occupation of East Timor. But incredibly, there is no country which defends the interests of another country in the United Nations to the extent that Australia defends Indonesia's interests. This makes Australia an accomplice in crime and gives the Aboriginal people in particular an obligation to call the Australian government to account over its betrayal of these indigenous people. Inevitably, the most co-ordinated indigenous groups in East Timor and West Papua are the resistance movements – Fretilin and OPM (*Operasi Papua Mederka*/Free Papua Movement). Such groups appear to be the only effective defence against genocide and ethnocide, and it is these groups who have been accepted as members of the WCIP.

The French colonisation of New Caledonia and Polynesia shows the classical symptoms of colonial control – the exploitation of the country's resources, the refusal to build up the indigenous economies, the increase in dependence on the invading country, and the gradual inundation of the indigenous population with a transplanted culture. The characteristic feature of these French occupied countries, however, is that this cultural control is at a point which it can be arrested.

In French occupied countries the representation of the indigenous people is at the political party level. The Kanaks in New Caledonia and the Ma'ohi in Polynesia have entered the political arena to begin the

EAST TIMOR

Jose Ramos Horta

Jose Horta arrived in Australia a month before the conference to lobby support for East Timor in the period leading up to the Biennial ALP Conference. Jose, the Fretilin ambassador to the United Nations attached to the Mozambique mission, launched into a gruelling itinerary while in Australia. On the day before the Pacific Region conference he had been in Perth, not leaving until midnight, so he had flown all night to be at the meeting and had to leave at 4.00pm the same day. In a flurry of conflicting views about East Timor circulating in Australia during this period it was salutary to have the record set straight in a meeting of Indigenous Peoples.

First I would like to thank the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the National Aboriginal Conference for holding this seminar in Canberra and for extending to me and to the people of East Timor the kind invitation to attend. I also thank Dr Ashcroft for his kindness and persistence in bringing me to Canberra. I extend warm greetings on behalf of the people of East Timor and on behalf of the Fretilin leadership to our brothers and sisters from West Papua, Hawaii, Indonesia, New Caledonia, French Occupied Polynesia and also very warm greetings of solidarity to the indigenous people of Australia and New Zealand. We share with you some things in common that have been accumulated over the centuries. The bonds that unite us, the people of East Timor with the people of the Pacific region, are hundreds of years of European colonization. What also binds us together is our desire, our aspiration, for self-determination, for freedom, for independence and for peace.

East Timor was colonized by Portugal for almost 500 years. It was in 1515 that the first Portuguese missionaries and settlers arrived on the island of Timor. After almost 100 years of Portuguese colonization, which also reached other parts of the world as far as South America – which gave birth to Brazil – and Africa which gave birth to such independent states as Angola, Cape Verde Islands, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe. In 1974, following a bloodless coup, the regime in Portugal decided to grant independence and self-determination to all its colonies including East Timor following the decolonization program. The new regime in Lisbon came to power on 25 April 1974. East Timor was to become an independent state by the end of 1978.

East Timor was never part of the republic of Indonesia. Since Indonesia's independence its leaders have never claimed East Timor as part of the republic. Indonesia always claimed only those territories that were part of the so-called Dutch East Indies, because East Timor was not part of the Dutch empire in South East Asia. However, by 1974, when there were prospects for an independent East Timor, the leaders in Jakarta began a process of destabilization, of intimidation, of harassment, psychological propaganda and warfare in order to bring about the absorbtion of East Timor into Indonesia.

The campaign of intimidation covering operations across the border between West and East Timor did not result in forcing the people to accept the incorporation of East Timor. In 1975 Indonesia launched a major offensive with thousands and thousands of troops, with tanks, helicopters and warships. Ironically a notable statesman we are all familiar with, a Harvard academic who probably should have stayed in Harvard, Dr Henry Kissinger and former President Gerald Ford were in Jakarta a few hours before the invasion of East Timor.

Dr Kissinger is a man who believes in globalism, he does not believe in smaller countries. He regards the world as basically the United States and the Soviet Union, and maybe when he is in a more modest mood, France, Great Britain and other medium sized powers. So Kissinger and Gerald Ford were in Jakarta on 6 December and basically gave the green light to Indonesia's intervention in East Timor. There is another man who does not believe in small states, who does not believe in West Papua, Polynesia and New Caledonia. He does not believe that small countries and states should be independent and free and he also wanted East Timor to be part of Indonesia. He encouraged General Suharto to take over East Timor. That man is Gough Whitlam; then the Prime Minister of Australia. Indonesia's intervention in East Timor was the responsibility of Australia, and maybe to an extent the United States. Australia shared the prime responsibility for Indonesia's intervention in East Timor. Gough Whitlam, as much as he wants to wash his hands, cannot get rid of the blood of the East Timorese people. He has been trying for the past 8 or 9 years to re-write and distort history. In 1975 the Jakarta generals believed they could crush the independence movement of Fretilin and subdue the East Timorese nationalism and resistance in a matter of weeks.

There were also some very good but narrow minded people in the Department of Foreign Affairs in Canberra who seemed to be confused between the interests of a group of generals in Jakarta and the real interests and dignity of Australia as a society and a nation. In spite of their wishful thinking that the issue of East Timor would go away, it has been 8 or 9 years since that invasion and the resistance today is far from over and is far stronger than it was before. It is enough to say that after so many years, Indonesia, in the last few weeks has launched yet another major offensive involving 14,000 troops, with tanks, helicopters and weapons supplied by the Western powers – the Western powers that are so often pre-occupied by human rights and the self-determination of the Malvinas (or Falklands) in the South Atlantic and who are so occupied about Afghanistan and the human rights violations by Moscow. They are concerned about the health of Dr Zakharov, and we should applaud that concern, but they chose to ignore the right of the people of East Timor for self-determination. They shut their eyes to the tragedy that has been taking place 460 miles north of Darwin.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear brothers, the issue of East Timor and the tragedy of it is not an isolated case. It is very much related to the struggle in West New Guinea. We all know the Indonesian Government,

through its policies of transmigration, is attempting to replace the indigenous people of West New Guinea with people from other parts of Indonesia, particularly from Java and Sumatra.

What we are witnessing today in West New Guinea has been going on for some years. The people of West New Guinea have been decimated and outnumbered in a process that goes back 10 years at least. East Timor has also been declared a zone of transmigration. Several years ago the Indonesian Government declared that East Timor was a zone of transmigration, with the same aim of replacing the East Timorese people with people from Java, Sumatra and Bali. So what we are witnessing is a frightening campaign, subtle, sinister and very effective, to replace the indigenous people in West New Guinea with people from the rest of Indonesia.

Indonesia has not succeeded in implementing its policy of transmigration in East Timor, simply because the military situation in East Timor does not allow a transmigration campaign or effort to be implemented. In the past few years Indonesia has attempted to send thousands of Balinese and Javenese over, but so far they have managed to send only 100 families from Bali into the border region and the South East.

However the East Timorese people, without even the encouragement of the independence movement, took matters into their own hands. Unfortunately several of these families were killed by the villagers. Their schools and houses were burnt down. Some school teachers from Bali were also killed. The security situation has not allowed Indonesia to carry out a massive program of transmigration into East Timor.

How many people have died in East Timor? If we take Indonesian statistics and compare them with Portuguese statistics of 1974 we see a gap of at least 150,000 people. The peace-time population before Indonesia's invasion was roughly 700,000 people. In the statistics for 1980-81 there was a population of slightly over 500,000. If this is not genocide as defined in the Convention on genocide, I do not know what it is. If these mass killings do not correspond to a deliberate strategy to cut down the population of East Timor and replace it with people from Java, Sumatra and Bali, I don't know what the real reason would be.

One thing is certain – resistance today continues, and after 8 years of Indonesian intervention, Indonesia has been forced to send in new reinforcements, 14,000 troops backed by armoured cars and helicopters of Indonesia's new offensive.

A so-called fact-finding mission of the Australian embassy in Jakarta was supposed to visit East Timor at the end of May but was first postponed and then cancelled. The Australian ambassador in Jakarta is one of the most eager and enthusiastic supporters of the Indonesian regime. The Foreign Affairs Department in Canberra has a very, I would say "efficient" record in supporting the Indonesian military junta. So why did the Indonesians feel the need to cancel a so-called fact-finding mission? We know it would go to East Timor in order to paint a rosy picture of the situation and in order to soften the position of the Australian Labor Party in July. If they dared to antagonise the ALP

members, if they dared to cancel a so-called fact-finding mission on the grounds of friends of theirs seeing something serious, sinister taking place in East Timor – of course the Foreign Affairs Department immediately tried to save face. They cancelled it. They left it to the Foreign Affairs Department to put the best face forward, to find excuses. The Department decided to bleat to the media through unnamed sources. They said that the Indonesians retaliated because of me coming to Australia.

But because of the Australian Government, because the Minister for Immigration, Stewart West, and Bill Hayden were courageous and honest enough, they granted me a visa. What we hear next is that Mochtar – who is the Indonesian Foreign Minister – stated on a number of occasions to the media that the cancellation of the fact-finding mission has no connection with me coming to Australia. He further said that the cancellation order come from the military. He also added that the cancellation was because of the military situation in East Timor.

Ambassador Marpaung, when addressing the National Press Club last week, proposed a more creative explanation. He said that because the Indonesian authorities were afraid that Fretilin the independence movement of East Timor – would ambush the ambassador while he was in East Timor.

It is clear from Indonesia's spokesmen for the Indonesian Foreign Minister and the ambassador that the cancellation of the visit is solely related to the situation in East Timor, but the Foreign Affairs Department decided to cover up the real reason because if the Department were to speak the truth it would be rocking the boat, it would cause more embarrassment and defeat the Department's purpose in deluding the ALP platform on East Timor.

We have not asked Australia to break off diplomatic relations with Indonesia because of East Timor. We have not asked Australia to send troops, weapons or money to the East Timorese resistance. All we have asked from Australia is that it take up a strong and courageous moral and diplomatic stance. We cannot believe or understand that Indonesia would be in a position to retaliate against Australia in any meaningful form. Talks of sanctions by Indonesia against Australia are fantasized and concocted by the very same people in the Foreign Affairs Department in Canberra who want to justify a bankrupt policy of the past 10 or 20 years which has gained nothing for Australia, except disdain on the part of the Indonesian generals. It has meant a more aggressive attitude on the part of Indonesia.

Just look at what happened in West New Guinea, look at what happened across the border with Papua New Guinea. All the rising tension there and the tragedy in East Timor are a by-product of policies of appeasement of the past 10 or 20 years. Indonesia cannot win in East Timor. It has not been able to for the past 8 or 9 years so far. Those who are sympathetic might wish the issue will continue. It is not a closed book, as it was suggested by ambassador Marpaung the other day. It is wide open in East Timor because the people continue to fight

with arms and weapons, well organised in the countryside. They are fighting politically, peacefully, culturally in the occupied areas.

The issue is quite wide open at the United Nations, in concerned European capitals, in the British Parliament, in the European Parliament and in the United States Congress. It will not go away. We therefore urge the Indonesian military to come to terms with us. We are more than willing to help Indonesia to save face, to extricate herself from a messy war with East Timor. Indonesia cannot win the war. It has embarked on the war due to encouragement and pressure from Benny Mourdani. Suharto was reluctant to intervene in 1975, it was Benny Mourdani who wanted a war to play hero and to justify plan to become general.

This war has been very costly to Indonesia militarily, economically and diplomatically. There is growing dissension within Indonesia. We believe it is about time for Suharto to get some heads rolling in Jakarta. We believe that President Suharto could extricate Indonesia from the war in East Timor. The responsibility of the war and the problems are laid at the door of Benny Mourdani.

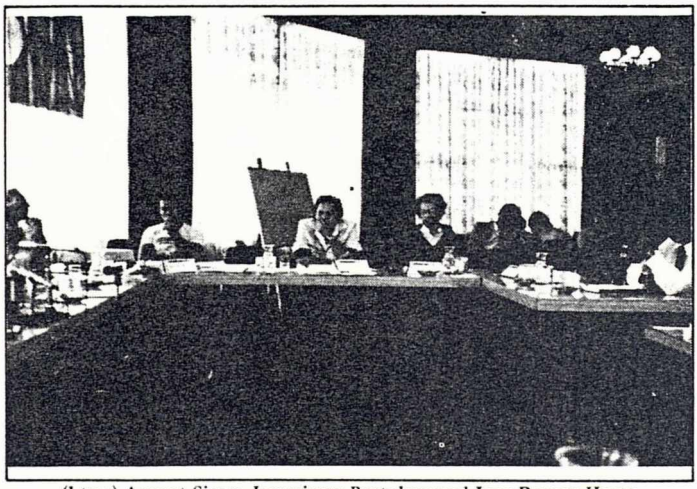
If Indonesia is willing to sit with East Timorese representatives, with the Fretilin leaders, with the secretary-generals and with Portugal and the administering power of East Timor, we would be more than willing to come half way. We therefore have proposed that Australia undertake a diplomatic initiative to encourage Indonesia to come to a round table conference. We are more than willing to come to such a table without pre-conditions. We will aim for a cessation of hostilities in East Timor in order to stop the killings. We also hope with such a conference to create conditions for human rights organisations to travel freely in East Timor to perform their functions. During such a period of cessation of hostilities talks should continue to resolve the problems. Indonesia has already said no to our proposal. We had not expected it to say yes. But we believe that if Australia were to take such an initiative Indonesia would find herslef isolated at the United Nations and with the Non-Aligned Movement.

Another topic I would like to address concerns the sea boundary. It has been said so many times, particularly by Gough Whitlam, that East Timor is too poor to be economically viable. However Australian oil companies, with Australia's blessing and Indonesia's blessing, are already basically at each others throats to grab whatever chunk of oil they can get in the East Timor basin. Indonesia and Australia have engaged in negotiations to close the gap. We have sent a memo to the Portuguese Government drawing its attention to the current negotiations between Australia and Indonesia. Australia and Indonesia cannot negotiate any issue pertaining to East Timor. We have been informed by the Portuguese Government that Indonesia has lodged two claims with the Foreign Affairs Department. We have also urged Portugal that if Australia were to continue with the negotiations, Portugal should take the matter to the International Court of Justice. Complaints should be lodged there against Australia because Australia so far has accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction while Indonesia has not.

We believe that the Portuguese administration and Government, being the legal administering power of East Timor, may not be the de facto power, but it is the only country with the legal capacity to entertain and sign any agreements with international validity, and it should bring Australia to the International Court of Justice.

Our position in regard to the sea boundaries is based on the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention. We reject Australia's claims that the boundary must be on the basis of the continental shelf. There is no such thing. The boundary must follow the Law of the Sea Conference, which established either a 200 mile exclusive economic zone for each coastal state, or when it overlaps, a median line should be drawn.

We have also said to the Portuguese Government that if the Australian Government were to be more sympathetic and supportive to the cause of East Timor, the East Timorese leaders, the Fretilin leaders would be flexible, ready to accommodate Australia's interests. We would be a more understanding and flexible partner to deal with on the question of the sea boundary than Indonesia. I thank you very much.



(I to r) August Siapo, Jacqui van Bastolaer and Jose Ramos Horta.